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AUTHOR Blumenfeld, Phyllis
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ABSTRACT

A dissertation proposal is made to study the development of materialistic values during the years of middle childhood and to determine whether the pattern of development is different for children of various ages, sexes and socioeconomic backgrounds. The development of materialistic values will be studied in regard to the beliefs of children during the elementary school years about the instrumental value of materials goods for attaining certain goals for ends. The major portion of the study will be concerned with developing an interview instrument which will consist of a set of standard questions combining multiple choice, paired comparison, and questions and stories involving objectively scorable open-ended responses. The instrument will be administered individually to 120 boys and girls aged five, eight and eleven years. The children will be selected at random, half from a lower class and half from a middle class elementary school. Reliability will be determined using a split-half technique. An analysis of variance will be computed for each of the scales. (Author/KM)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALISTIC VALUES DURING MIDDLE CHILDHOOD

by

Phyllis Blumenfeld

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SUMMARY

Purpose

The purpose of this investigation is to study the development of materialistic values during the years of middle childhood and to determine whether the pattern of development is different for children of various ages, sexes and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Introduction

Writers in many fields have expressed concern about the materialistic nature of American society. They have noted that the predilection of people in our culture for acquiring material goods is motivated by the search for happiness. In addition there is a propensity for individuals to use material goods as a means to attain social acceptance, approval and status.

Moreover, in his efforts to attain these goals, the individual is constantly trying to obtain goods which the social group has acquired. He believes these will lead to the gratification and happiness he perceives that others enjoy. However, the pursuit of these primary goals through material goods leads one astray from attaining intrinsic and lasting satisfaction. As many writers have asserted, the amassing of material goods in the hope of gaining these ends is really a hollow victory.

Thus the emphasis on material goods and the sacrifices made in order to obtain them has been regarded as a contributing factor to what observers have called the alienation of individuals from each other and the "emotional bankruptcy" of our society. It has been cited as a salient reason for the dissatisfaction of young people who perceive our society as hypocritical and false. These disaffected youth, a large proportion of whom come from affluent families, claim that the sacrifices made in the effort to acquire more and more material goods have been at the expense of meaningful moral and spiritual values.

In light of these observations, it seems imperative that an exploration be undertaken of the way in which material goods are viewed and valued by children.

This study will adopt the framework utilized by social psychologists in their study of values and beliefs. Within this framework values are differentiated into two types: Those which serve as ends, the goals to which the individual strives; and those which serve as means, the behaviors he employs in order to attain these ends. Practically all materialistic values are instrumental values; material goods are valued because it is believed that their possession will lead to attainment of desired goals. Thus, in order to determine some of the underlying bases for the development of materialistic values, this study will focus on the development of children's beliefs about the relationship between possession of material goods and the achievement of valued ends.

It is proposed that materialistic values develop in three phases. During each of these phases there is a shift in emphasis on the goals which material goods are used to attain. During the first phase, the child values material goods for reasons intrinsic to the nature of the goods themselves. The goals he seeks are fun, pleasure, comfort, which these goods can provide. During the second phase, the child further values material goods because they provide the opportunity for interpersonal contact and group activity. The goals he seeks are acceptance and approval from his peers. During the third phase, the child, in addition to valuing objects as instrumental means to fun and social acceptance, values material goods as symbols. He seeks possession in order to attain the goal of status or prestige.

Statement of problem

The major focus of this dissertation will be on the development of materialistic values. These will be studied in regard to the beliefs of children during the elementary school years about the instrumental value of material goods for attaining certain goals or ends. Children at three different age levels will be studied in an effort to determine the point at which different phases of materialistic values reach fruition. These phases will also be studied in relation to sex differences and differences in socioeconomic status.

Hypotheses

1. The relative strength of the value of attainment of social goals as compared to the value of acquiring material goods to be enjoyed in and of themselves will increase with age; when given a choice between acquisition of a material good and engaging in a social activity, older children more than younger will prefer the latter option.

2. The goals toward which material goods are perceived as instrumental will become more social with increasing age; when given a choice of reasons for acquiring material goods, older children more than younger will choose reasons concerned with social acceptance or social status.

3. Children's beliefs about the necessity of possessing material goods in order to reach these goals will change with age; older children more than younger will believe that social acceptance or prestige cannot be attained with material goods; younger children more than older will believe that fun cannot be attained without material goods.

4. Beliefs about the relation between possession of material goods and the attainment of desired ends will change with age; older children will believe that material goods are associated with social acceptance and prestige. Younger children will believe that material goods are associated with fun.

Instrument

The major portion of this study will be concerned with developing an instrument which can be used to test the hypotheses. The final form of the instrument will consist of a set of standard questions, which will combine multiple choice and paired comparison items as well as questions and stories involving objectively scoreable open-ended responses. Pictures illustrating the situations described will accompany the items where appropriate.

The instrument will be individually administered in the form of a standard interview. It is anticipated that the time for testing will be approximately twenty minutes for each child.

Procedure for development of the instrument

The procedure for developing this instrument is as follows:

1. Clarification of the item set. For each of the hypotheses an appropriate set of questions will be developed. For each set, item generating rules and prototype items based on these rules have been described. In addition, several alternative options for designing items have been proposed.

2. Preliminary testing. Items based on the prototype described will be developed and tested during intensive individual interviews with a sample of children. The purpose of this procedure is to determine whether the item formats for each set of questions are actually getting at the beliefs and values sought. Thus children's reasons for their responses will be used to assess their understanding of the questions, the suitability of wording of the items, the equal desirability of alternate choices on paired comparison questions and the appropriateness of response formats. On the basis of this information, the best options for writing items will be chosen. If necessary, modifications of generating rules themselves will be made.

3. Judgment of face validity. After a prototype instrument has been developed and tested during individual interviews, the set of questions for each scale will be judged by three individuals with different expertise in their knowledge of children. In order to establish face validity for the scales, the judges will rate items with regard to (a) the conformity of the item to the generating rule for the scale; (b) the appropriateness of the item for children of different ages, sexes, and socioeconomic backgrounds; (c) the comprehensibility of the items for young children. In addition, the judges will be asked to rate the total set of items on each scale with regard to the adequacy of the pool for sampling various aspects of the construct under investigation. Comments and suggestions of the judges will be used to refine and eliminate items.

4. Formal testing of the experimental instrument. An experimental form of the instrument will be administered to a sample of children representative of the population to be used in the final phase of the study. The purpose of this procedure is to refine the scales. Distribution of responses for each item will be computed. Items for which over 80% of the children respond similarly will be eliminated in order to increase variance

and reliability of the scales. In addition, in order to increase homogeneity of questions on each scale, a factor analysis will be conducted to identify those items which for various reasons seem unrelated to the construct being measured by the scale.

Date Collection

After completion of the steps outlined above, the final form of the instrument will be administered individually to 120 boys and girls, five, eight and eleven years of age. The children will be selected at random; half will be from a lower class and half from a middle class elementary school.

Data Analysis

Reliability of the instrument will be determined using a split half technique. As a test of the hypotheses an analysis of variance will be computed for each of the scales in order to determine whether there are significant differences between children of different ages, sexes, and socioeconomic backgrounds with regard to various patterns of beliefs about the instrumental value of material goods for facilitating the attainment of desired goals. If available, measures of mental ability will be used to determine whether this factor is related to scores on these scales.

Significance

The results of this study will have both theoretical and practical implications. The data will provide evidence regarding the development, during middle childhood, of beliefs which form the basis of one value which has been considered by many to be significant in our culture. These findings will add to our understanding of the growth of values during the socialization process. In addition, the instrument will operationally clarify the nature of beliefs underlying materialistic values and may serve, therefore, as a useful tool for other related studies. Knowledge about the development of children's values with regard to material goods can be utilized in educational planning and curriculum development.

INTRODUCTION

One crucial factor for the understanding of human behavior is an appreciation of the individual's system of values. Theoretically, values have been conceptualized as motivational forces which give direction to behavior by influencing the selection of goals toward which the individual will strive, as well as the paths he will choose for attaining these goals. For example, a widely accepted definition of values is that advanced by Kluckhohn (1951). He considers values as complex principles which organize and give direction to human acts and thoughts as they relate to the solution of human problems. Values are "conceptions, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 395)."

Several theorists have suggested that values result from the dynamic interplay of three distinguishable elements of the evaluative process: the cognitive; the affective and the directive (e.g. Williams, 1968). Psychologists interested in the development of values have focused on the directive aspect of values in terms of behavior in controlled laboratory studies (e.g. Huckaby, 1969; Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967); the affective nature of values by examining children's expressed preferences for different situations or behaviors (e.g. Gorsuch, 1971; Guilford, Gupta & Goldberg, 1972; Wasserman, 1971); the cognitive nature of values by studying the reasoning underlying the child's responses when presented with a moral dilemma (e.g. Piaget, 1948; Kohlberg, 1963); and the cognitive bases underlying the development of social attitudes and values by

investigating the child's perceptions and beliefs with regard to racial, religious, and ethnic groups (e.g. Radke, Trager, and Davis, 1949; Stendler, 1949; Zeligs, 1953; 1954; 1955).

These endeavors are of import for educators, who increasingly have turned their attention to the affective along with the traditional intellectual aspects of education (e.g. Holt, 1964; Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1956; Scriven, 1966). Emphasizing the fact that the school plays an important role in the socialization process, they stress that a major task of education must be to nourish values which will be commensurate with the emotional and social well being of the child as he develops into a future citizen. Directing himself to this topic, Mussen (1968) has asserted, "We need more information about how values may be taught in the school...Before we can do anything we have to have some means of evaluating the value structure of children and assessing change. This in itself is a most difficult problem (p.240)."

One system of values about which little is known with regard to children, but which has been noted as prevalent in American society, is that of materialism. The emphasis placed on money and material goods in our culture has been discussed by writers in many fields. Their discussions have generally been concerned with both the predilection of people in our society to acquire material goods and the fact that to a large extent these material objects are used to satisfy what are regarded as "nonmaterial" motives or values (e.g. Bauer & Greyser, 1968).

Speculations as to the forces which have contributed to this concern with material objects have been put forth by historians,

sociologists, psychoanalysts and anthropologists. In general, the consensus is that materialism as a cultural pattern stems from the stress placed on equality and opportunities for achievement in American society (e.g.Berthoff, 1960; Brogan, 1941; Lipset, 1961; Parsons, 1961).

Historically, the emphasis placed on social equality eliminated class barriers and opened to all, the routes to more advantageous social and economic positions. This fact, when coupled with the emphasis on individual initiative and success in the competitive market made achievement and social mobility a highly valued and not unattainable goal. Money and material goods as the visible manifestation of success gained increasing importance as evidence of one's worth and as symbolic of one's life achievement (e.g. Desmonde, 1962; Horney, 1937; Weber, 1930). The motive behind the acquisition of goods is the desire to provide visible and tangible evidence that one has indeed succeeded (Brogan, 1941; Packard, 1950; Veblen, 1899). Thus, the acquisition of money and material goods as symbolic of achievement and as a storehouse of social approval become important to an individual's feeling of self worth and self esteem and their acquisition become a sign of a life well spent.

Clinicians and psychoanalysts have made similar observations. Knight (1967) notes that in a society which places high value on competitive success, success as measured by material things has become identified with security and self esteem. This quest for money and material goods, according to psychoanalysts, is motivated by the desire to find something akin to a magical charm for attaining

emotional security by the social approval they accord. Thus, material possessions often become invested with emotional significance to the point of becoming extensions of one's ego (e.g. Fenichel, 1954; Ferenczi, 1954).

This same observation was made by William James (1890). Like others (e.g. Jourard, 1964; Mead, 1934), James asserted that one major influence on the individual's self esteem is the reflected appraisal of others; material objects as extensions of the self are an important aspect by which we are judged by others. Utilizing these clinical insights, researchers in consumer behavior have found that the individual perceives products that he owns, or would like to own in terms of the symbolic meaning to himself and others; congruence between the symbolic image of a product and the consumer's self image implies greater probability of positive evaluation, preference or ownership of a product (Dolich, 1969; Gardiner, 1964; Levy, 1959). Others have explained purchasing behavior in a similar fashion; utilizing Freudian theories of sublimation of libidinal energy and Adlerian theories of the need to compensate for feelings of inferiority and drives for power they have noted the importance of the symbolic meaning of material goods for satisfying individual needs and desires (Dichter, 1960; 1964; Martineau, 1957).

Sociologists have also noted the fact that material goods are not only used as symbols of achievement, but as projections of a particular image or role to which the individual aspires. Erich Fromm (1947) has written of the rise of a personality type he calls the "marketing orientation." The main feature of this orientation is that the individual's feeling of identity and self worth become based

on the individual's ability to sell his personality in the market place. Rather than being concerned with developing human qualities, the individual cultivates the ability to play a role. He adapts his personality in order to conform to the image which is currently in vogue, but which is readily exchangeable if another becomes more fashionable. Acquisition of the appropriate material accoutrements for this image is of necessity so that the individual can look and behave in a fashion suitable for the role he has adopted. The result, Fromm suggests, is that the individual becomes alienated from his own humanness and unique characteristics. Instead, he molds his personality to meet other's expectations, seeking after material goods which are symbolic projections of an image that brings approval from others.

David Riesman (1950) in a sociological analysis similar to that of Fromm's, has noted the shift from concern with the problems of production to those of consumption in our culture. He suggests that this accounts in part for the transformation of the modal American social character from inner to other direction. A major aspect of this orientation is the shift from reliance on internal norms and standards to a dependence on the norms and standards of others for behavioral guidance; the chief value becomes to like and to be liked by others. The result is that the other directed man is characterized by an orientation to situational rather than internalized goals, extreme sensitivity to the opinions of others, a desire to conform on both internal as well as external experience, and an excessive need for the approval of others. Approval is bestowed on those who embrace the momentarily right consumption preferences, the "fandoms and lingoes"

of the peer group. Thus, the consumption preferences of the group replace individual wants as givens so that in the realm of consumption of goods Riesman speaks of an "objectless craving" in which the craving itself is "for the satisfactions others seem to have" and transcends the desire for specific objects (p. 80). The result is an insatiable quest for the material goods others own. This is motivated by the hope that the possession of these goods will bring the individual the satisfactions which he believes others who possess these goods enjoy.

Moreover, impetus for this quest is provided by advertising. Bayer & Greyser (1968) have asserted that "regardless of what re-evaluation may emerge as to the nature of our materialistic society, it is inescapable that advertising plays an important role in it. Advertising is the chief means for communicating (and reinforcing) to people the range of reasons for which they might want to acquire material objects (p. 368)."

Advertisements are created to play upon basic needs like sex, excitement, status. By activating these needs and promising that the purchase of material goods will lead to their fulfillment, advertising acts upon the unconscious. It not only creates dissatisfaction but raises the intensity of the needs themselves along with stimulating the quest for material goods with which to satisfy these needs.

McLuhan (1964) has asserted that the form and arrangement of the images presented in advertisements, which he compares to complex icons, have powerful effects on our unconscious. Research evidence attests to the gradual, subtle and covert influence of advertising and points to the fact that learning from images presented may take place far from conscious processes (Krugman, 1965; 1966; 1971).

In summary, observations by those who have considered the nature and causes of materialism in our society point to the fact that one reason for the emphasis placed on the acquisition of material goods is the motivation to gain the favorable opinion of others. The value placed on material possessions, therefore, lies not in the nature of the goods themselves, but derives from their ability to enhance our feelings of self esteem as a result of the social recognition and approval they are instrumental in attaining. A second reason, which Riesman (1950) has pointed out, and to which advertising is a prime contributor, is the illogical belief that possession of material goods which others own will result in the attainment of satisfactions which we perceive them to enjoy. Thus, material goods become symbols of "the good life," which, however, when attained, often fail to bring the promised gratifications.

The result is that the emphasis on extrinsic paths for attaining satisfactions and security at the expense of what might be more intrinsic and meaningful routes, has deleterious consequences for both society and its members. The quest for material goods and the sacrifices made for their attainment has been noted as one cause of alientation, dissatisfaction, and as a contributing factor to what has been termed the "emotional bankruptcy" of American culture (e.g. Desmond, 1962; Marcuse, 1965; Reich, 1970). Observers of youthful unrest have pointed to the fact that one major cause of consternation is the perception of young persons that our society is hypocritical and has sold its values for material and financial gain at the expense of its moral stature (Flack, 1969; Kenniston, 1969). Those who have written about the "counter culture" have noted the deemphasis on material goods in

favor of a quest for more spiritual and intrinsic means of self fulfillment (e.g. King, 1972; Reich, 1970; Rozak, 1969; Slater, 1970).

In view of these observations and in light of the fact that as yet no data exists which can give insight into the growth of children's values and cognitions with regard to material goods, systematic exploration of these questions seem necessary. Thus, research which can provide insight into the growth of materialism in children seems essential.

A conceptual framework for studying materialism

Several different theoretical orientations might be adopted, such as sociological, psychological, or social learning in order to provide a conceptual framework for materialism. In addition, materialism might be investigated in relation to cultural patterns, child rearing practices or individual personality differences. For the purpose of this study, the framework used by social psychologists in their study of the relation between values, attitudes and beliefs will be adopted.

One problem in adopting this framework, however, is the difficulty of determining whether to regard materialism as an attitude or a value. Those who have reviewed various theoretical and experimental aspects of the literature on social psychology have pointed to the lack of agreement concerning the definition of these constructs, and to the absence of a clear operational demarcation between them (e.g. Dukes, 1955; Levitin, 1970; McGuire, 1969). Values and attitudes both have been defined as things to do (activities), things to happen (situations), things to be (personal qualities). They have been studied with regard to objects, goals, persons, situations, states of being, activities, events and behaviors.

Theoretically, both are postulated as central to the way in which an individual structures his world. They affect behavior by influencing the individual's selection of means, modes and ends of action (e.g. Kluckhohn, 1951; Pepper, 1958; Albert, 1968; McGuire, 1969; Rokeach, 1968). For example, Williams (1968) regards values as (1) conceptual in nature, (2) abstractions drawn from the flux of individual experiences, (3) which are affectively charged, (4) representing actual or potential emotional mobilization (5) which become the criteria by which goals are chosen. This conceptualization is remarkably similar to a widely accepted definition of attitudes advanced by Allport (1936). According to Allport, attitudes are (1) a mental and neural state (2) of readiness to respond (3) organized (4) through experience (5) exerting a directive and/or dynamic influence on behavior.

Although a definite delineation has not been made between values and attitudes, in general, most researchers have viewed the distinction in terms of a continuum varying from the general to the specific. Values are placed near the former and attitudes near the latter end of this continuum. Thus, values may be regarded as being fewer in number, more general, less situation bound and more resistant to modification than attitudes. Rokeach (1968) has stated that values differ from attitudes because an attitude may represent several beliefs focused on a specific object or situation where a value is a belief that transcendentally guides action and judgments across specific situations. Several theorists have suggested, in fact, that values preceed and give rise to attitudes (e.g. Nowell-Smith, 1954; Jones & Gerard, 1967; Rosenberg, 1956;

Carlson, 1956).

Operationally, the same confusion which is evident in terms of the theoretical difference between attitudes and values also exists regarding the empirical distinction between them. The prevailing practice, however, is to conceive of values as ratings or preferences while attitudes are regarded as expressions of affect or feeling (e.g. Smith, 1966; Fishbein, 1967; Levitin, 1970; Guilford, Gupta, & Goldberg, 1972). Thus, attitudes have been measured by asking respondents to indicate agreement or disagreement with various statements, selected because they are assumed to indicate approval or disapproval with regard to the object, concept or situation under consideration. The result typically involves a single score that places the respondent somewhere on an affective continuum of favorableness to unfavorableness. Values, however, have been studied in terms of stated preferences for different goals, ideas, activities or states using rankings, paired comparison, Q-sorts, or verbal reports (e.g. Allport, Vernon, 1931; Rokeach, 1968; Morris, 1956; Gordon, 1956).

In light of the fact that the purpose of this study is to examine the growth of a general orientation toward and desire for material goods rather than affect or feeling with regard to specific objects, materialism will be studied as a value and investigated with regard to the development of a value system. In addition, this study will adopt a prevailing mode of characterizing values adopted by many psychologists and sociologists, which distinguishes between values which serve as ends and values which serve as means. For example, Woodruff (1952) has

suggested that values have two principle roles: an end which is sought over other ends and a path which is preferred over other paths. Barthol & Bridges (1968) define values as entities, events or behaviors that are wanted or preferred, whether as ends in themselves or as means to other values. English & English (1958) define values as abstract concepts that define for the individual what ends or means to an end are desirable. Rokeach (1968) has labeled values which serve as means as instrumental values and values which serve as ends, as terminal values.

For the purpose of this study material values will be defined as instrumental values. Material goods are valued because their possession is perceived as instrumental for the attainment of desired ends or goals. According to those who have discussed materialism, material goods are used to attain three different ends. Material goods are valued in order to attain (1) goals intrinsic to the nature of the goods themselves, such as fun, pleasure comfort; (2) goals extrinsic to the nature of the goods such as social acceptance and approval; or (3) goals concerned with the symbolic nature of the goods such as status, image or prestige.

An important aspect of the study of instrumental values is the investigation of the individual's beliefs about the potential of objects, behaviors or situations for satisfying needs and desires (e.g. Adler, 1956; Peak, 1955; Carlson, 1956; Rosenberg, 1956). Fishbein (1962) defines beliefs as indicating a person's perceptions or cognitions in terms of the verbalizations he makes regarding the relation between two cognitive categories when neither defines the other. This definition includes beliefs about whether an object will lead to or block the

attainment of valued goals or valued states.

Therefore, in order to study the development of materialistic values, it is necessary to investigate the development of the child's beliefs about the instrumentality of material goods for attaining desired goals; in essence these beliefs may be regarded as the underlying foundation of materialistic values. Moreover, several researchers have noted that the early beliefs of the child are often retained and form the primary cognitive base upon which social values and attitudes develop (e.g. Proshansky, 1966; Harding, 1969). Thus many who have studied social values in young children have focused on the development of perceptions with regard to different social class, religious, ethnic, national and political groups (e.g. Radke, Trager & David, 1948; Stendler, 1949; Zeligs, 1953; 1954; Greenstein, 1963).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

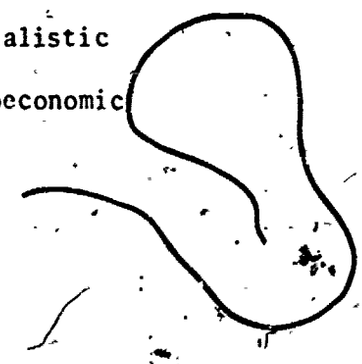
A considerable amount of concern has been expressed about the emphasis placed on the accumulation of material goods in our society. It has been suggested that this materialistic value system is based on the need to satisfy certain aspirations and desires. Certainly in adults, material goods are instrumental means for achieving valued ends and goals. However, very little is known about when and how perceptions with regard to the utility of goods as leading to more intrinsic satisfactions become inculcated in young children.

In an effort to determine some of the bases underlying the formation of materialistic values, this study will examine the development during the years of middle childhood of several aspects of beliefs about the instrumentality of material goods for attaining valued goals.

The first aspect is the relative strength of preference for a thing (for its own sake) as contrasted with social activity. The second aspect is the relative strength of three bases for valuing material goods: (a) as instrumental for fun and pleasure; (b) as leading to social acceptance and providing the opportunity for social interaction; and (c) as symbols which lend prestige and status to their owners. The third, is the child's beliefs about the necessity of

material goods for attaining these goals, and fourth, is the child's beliefs about the relationship of the possession of material goods and the attainment of these goals.

The pattern of development of these facets of materialistic values will be studied in relation to age, sex, and socioeconomic status.



REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

There is little experimental evidence available which is related directly to the topic of materialism. However, results of investigations involving several aspects of child psychology suggest the probability that the development of materialistic values consists of three phases. During the first phase, material goods are valued for reasons intrinsic to the nature of the objects themselves (i.e., such as the fun and pleasure or confort they provide). During the second phase, material goods are valued not only for fun, but because they are instrumental means for attaining acceptance by the child's peers and provide the opportunity for group activity. During the third phase, material goods are valued for the additional reason that they serve as symbolic indicators which lend prestige and status to the owner. Thus, as the goals which material goods are used to attain become more numerous as the child develops, it is not surprising that the value placed on material goods appears so salient.

Age Differences.

Descriptive studies of child development point to the acuisitiveness of the young child. By 21 months the child has attained the generalized concept of "mine" (Spitz, 1949), and after this point, possessiveness and the desire for possessions increases rapidly (Ames, 1952; Gesell, et al., 1943). It has been observed that during the egocentric period, where the child is preoccupied with his own needs and activities, many of his initial responses to others his age are negative, involving conflicts over possession. Ames (1952) describes the child as follows:

> "He wants everything to come to him. His chief interpersonal relation with other children is the acquisition of objects and the protection of any object which he is using, has used, or might use."

Further indication of children's concern with material goods is provided by the studies of the wishes of children. Cobb (1954) has indicated that wishes should be considered as goal directed and as expressions of values; they are indications of the aspirations of the child within his life space. Results indicate that a large percentage of the wishes of preschool and elementary school children are for material objects (Abels, 1972, Cobb, 1954; Jersild, et. al., 1933; Wilson, 1938; Witty & Leopol, 1939).

The high value young children place on material goods is also indicated by the fact that children have fairly well formed positive stereotypes about people with "lots of money" and negative stereotypes about people with "only a little money" (Stendler, 1949). A pilot study by the author confirms this finding. Five year olds associate having "lots of things" with such positive characteristics as "being happy, good, nice, smart"; "having only a few things" is associated with the opposite characteristics. Moreover, sociometric work suggests that not only do these stereotypes persist as the child matures but that they play a role in the formation of friendship patterns in the classroom (e.g., Neugarten, 1946; Cook, 1945).

Child-rearing practices may also influence the development of materialistic values. Child specialists (e.g. Feldman, 1957) discourage withholding money or goods as disciplinary measures. Practices like the purchase of presents as a reward for good behavior are thought

likely to strengthen the child's tendency to associate money and material goods with love and approval. Thus, in putting a material price on the child's behavior, parents may be encouraging false motivations and values with regard to material goods. Moreover, Ausubel (1954) indicates that children who do not feel intrinsically valued by their parents are likely to attempt to gain feelings of worth when associating with others by emphasizing extrinsic means, such as material goods, for attaining approval.

In addition, the child's exposure to advertisements designed to convince him to buy things by associating happiness, popularity and prestige with their possession, may have an important effect on the value which young children place on material goods. Although little work has been done in an effort to explore the influence of commercials on children's attitudes and values, studies of the effects of media programming on children's attitudes and behavior (e.g. Maccoby, 1964) point to the fact that advertising may play a major role in promoting materialistic values. Results from a study by Ward (1971) indicate that young children not only pay close attention to advertisements but request many of the goods they have seen.

There are indications that the young child's concern with material goods is a reflection of the relative egocentricism, concreteness and hedonism characteristic of this age level. Thus, he is primarily interested in acquiring goods with which he has had experience (Murphy, 1937) or which he has seen others enjoy (Wells, 1965). It seems probable, therefore, that the young child values material goods for their own sake for reasons intrinsic to the nature of the goods

themselves in terms of the fun or pleasure they afford.

However, a second phase of materialistic values may evolve as the child becomes increasingly socially oriented. Evidence indicates that the child not only begins to evaluate himself in comparison with others (Masters, 1972; Veroff, 1972) but also becomes increasingly concerned with how others evaluate him. He becomes increasingly desirous of gaining acceptance by his peers. Research indicates that the peer group takes on increasing importance as a socializing agent during the elementary school years and becomes a major source of approval (Bronfenbrenner, 1970; Devereux, 1968; Hartup, 1970). In order to gain approval, the child, after the age of seven conforms increasingly to peer group standards and judgments (Constanzo & Shaw, 1966; Iscoe, Williams & Harvey, 1964; McConnell, 1963). He also begins to wish for attributes that bring popularity and prestige in the eyes of his peers (Ausubel & Sullivan, 1970).

In addition, experiences in school, on the playground or vicariously through the media can provide the opportunity for children to compare the amounts and types of goods they possess with those owned by others. This comparison can have powerful effects on the child's desire for material objects, his valuation of them, and the manner in which he will use them (Masters, 1966; 1969; 1972).

It seems likely, therefore, that during the early elementary school years, the child's valuation of material goods may begin to shift. In addition to desiring material objects for reasons which are intrinsic to the nature of the goods themselves, he may desire material goods

because he believes that they are instrumental for gaining peer acceptance and approval. He may want goods others have, irrespective of what they are, in order to conform to the norms of the group to gain acceptance and avoid disapproval. Alternatively, the child may want goods which others value but do not have in order to win approval as a result of the fact that he possesses objects which others can use and admire. In both cases, the child values material goods not for their primary purpose, but because they provide opportunities for interpersonal contact and peer acceptance.

Moreover, as the child matures, the development of materialistic values may enter a third phase. During this phase the child values material goods not only for the reasons of fun or direct social contact they provide, but as symbols, the possession of which, lend prestige to the owner because they connote a certain social status or desired image.

Several factors may contribute to this shift in the child's valuation of material goods. First, his perceptions of the occupational hierarchy and of the differential status and prestige accorded individuals on the basis of their economic success become increasingly accurate (e.g. Borow, 1966; Hess, 1970; Stewart, 1958). Second, he becomes cognizant of the economic bases for social stratification and of the causes for success or failure in the economic system (Estevan, 1952; Simmons & Rosenberg, 1971).

An additional factor, perhaps the most important, is that during the period of the late elementary school years, cognitively the child is developing more abstract and symbolic modes of thought. As a result

his ability to identify material symbols as indications of social position and economic success increases.

Stendler (1949) reports that although first grade children show little awareness of economic symbols of status, fourth grade children show a fairly accurate awareness of these symbols both in reaction to pictures and in assessment of their peers. Cognizance of symbolic significance of material goods increases in sixth and eighth grades to the point that children are very much like adults in their ratings of pictures and peers. Stewart (1958) has also shown that fifth graders are aware of material possessions which are symbolic of differential prestige and status in the occupational hierarchy.

Moreover, Ward (1971) found that a major reason that preadolescents give for watching TV commercials is the wish to identify with the attractive life styles portrayed and to obtain information as to the social value and significance of different products and brands.

In a similar fashion, studies of person perception conducted with older adolescents and adults indicate that material possessions are important cues which we utilize in forming impressions of others (Blake, 1958 ; Luft, 1958) and that these cues in fact may determine the nature and extent of interactions which take place subsequently. Sommers (1963, 1964) has also found, by using a Q sorting technique, that subjects are reliably able to describe themselves and others using products rather than adjectives. The fact that individuals are able to answer the question, "What kind of a person am I?" and "What kind of person is he?" by Q sorting material possessions suggests that material goods are symbolic indicators whose possession lends a particular image

quality, or status to their owner.

In summary, the evidence cited above, suggests that the development of materialistic values during the years of middle childhood may progress through several phases, which are related to both the increasing social orientation and cognitive maturation of the child. Moreover, it seems probable that these shifts in the realtive strength of the goals which material goods are used to attain might occur during the early, middle and late years of elementary school.

When the child enters school at the age of five, he is still egocentric and as yet not oriented to the peer group. We might expect that he values material goods not for social reasons but for reasons which are intrinsic to the satisfactions or pleasures which the goods provide. However, by the middle of his elementary school years, the child has become increasingly socially oriented. During this period conformity to group standards and concern with gaining peer acceptance increases markedly (Costanzo & Shaw, 1966; Hartup, 1970; Iscoe, Williams, & Harvey, 1964; McConnell, 1963). Thus, we might expect that the child at age eight has entered the second phase in the development of materialistic values and desires goods because they are instrumental means of gaining peer approval and acceptance.

Moreover, at the end of his elementary school years, the child has developed more abstract modes of thought. His ability to understand and recognize the connotative significance of material goods has increased. Thus, we might expect that by the age of eleven, he desires material goods not only for their ability to provide opportunities for social contact, but because the mere fact of possession may lend him prestige and status in the eyes of his peers.

Social Class Differences.

In addition to the evidence from studies of child development which suggests that the nature of materialistic values may change with age, several lines of evidence also point to the possibility that the rate of change may not be the same for children of middle and low socio-economic backgrounds. Several recent reviews have noted the differences in values held by individuals in the middle and lower classes (e.g. Guilford, Gupta, Goldberg, 1972; Hess, 1969). A widely discussed experiment by Bruner & Goldman (1947) in which they attempted to relate perception to values provides evidence that children of poor backgrounds value money more than those of middle class backgrounds; children of poor backgrounds accentuated the size of coins more than did those from well-to-do backgrounds. These results have been replicated with varying degrees of success in several experiments (Blout, 1970; Carter & Schooler, 1949; Dorfman & Zajonc, 1963; Holzkamp, 1965; Rosenthal, 1951).

More recently, psychologists have speculated about the differing reward systems of children from lower class socioeconomic backgrounds as compared with those from middle class backgrounds in their effort to explain why such children exhibit poorer intellectual achievement than their middle class counterparts. Havighurst (1970) has proposed that for all children rewards and punishments initially consist of tangible objects such as food or toys or of painful stimulation. With physiological maturation, additional types of reward punishment systems begin to develop; the first to appear involves praise and disapproval

from other persons. He suggests that the reward-punishment systems of lower class disadvantaged children evolve less rapidly than those of the more advantaged. The result, may be that material objects retain considerable importance for their own sake rather than for reasons of social acceptance by lower than middle class children.

This assertion receives some support from laboratory findings. Masters & Peskay (1971) have shown that regardless of race, children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds reward themselves more than do children from middle class backgrounds for performance and place a higher value on these rewards. Results from discrimination learning studies indicate that material reinforcers have greater effectiveness for increasing performance in lower but not in middle class subjects (Cameron & Storm, 1965; Terrell, 1958; Terrell, Durkin & Wiesley, 1959; Terrell & Kennedy, 1957; Zigler & De Labry, 1962). Although conflicting evidence has been provided by Spence and her coworkers (Spence, 1970; Spence & Dunton, 1967; Spence & Segner, 1967) which challenges the conclusions drawn from laboratory experiments, Spence (1972) cautions:

> "While experimental evidence under consideration may refute empirical generalizations that lower class children perform better for material rewards...it does little to challenge the contention that subcultures are not identical in their motivations and reinforcement systems and that these systems have important implications for behavior. It is very possible that in the larger scheme of things, material types of incentives do play a more central role in the lives of the economically and culturally disadvantaged." (p. 1469)

With regard to the evidence above, it seems important to examine whether these differences in fact do really exist in terms of values children of different socioeconomic status place on material things.

Sex Differences.

Results of studies of both children and adolescents indicate the probability of differences in the value boys and girls place on material goods. Evidence suggests that boys more than girls will value the acquisition of material goods as ends in themselves, girls, however, more than boys, will value material goods as instrumental means for attaining social approval and social status.

Experimental results indicate early differences in social orientation between girls and boys which persist throughout childhood and into the adult years. In infancy girls are more responsive to social stimulation (Moss, 1967) whereas males exhibit greater interest in objects and their manipulation (Bakan, 1966). Goodenough (1957) reports that from ages 2 to 4 girls show greater social orientation than boys in terms of their drawings of and comments about persons.

During the preschool and elementary school years girls tend to be more affectionate, interpersonal, affiliative and nurturant than boys (e.g. Kagan, 1964; Maccoby, 1966; Vroegh, 1968). Maccoby (1966), in an extensive review of the literature on sex differences, indicates that at all age levels, girls score significantly higher than boys on need for affiliation, on social orientation, and on sensitivity to others. In addition, girls are more responsive to suggestion, more sensitive to social expectations, more dependent in social reinforcement

situations, and more discriminative of socially approved behavior (Bakan, 1966; Maccoby, 1966).

At the same time, during the years of elementary school, girls' wishes surpass boys' in the direction of social relationships, change in physical appearance, and personal characteristics; boys' wishes exceed those of girls in the area of self aggrandizement, personal achievement and possession (Abels, 1972; Cobb, 1954; Crandall, 1967; Havinghurst, et al., 1954; Zeligs, 1942). In studies of young adolescents, Douvan (1957) reports that girls when asked what they would like to change about themselves stress looks and popularity while boys stress internal personality changes and changes in ability. Douvan (1960) also found that for mature ego development, the cultivation of interpersonal skills is more important for girls than it is for boys.

These differences may be related to the fact that girls, in our society, are subject to less parental and cultural pressure to attain status through achievement (e.g. Aberle & Naegele, 1952; Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1957). Thus, during the years of middle childhood, boys are more oriented to achievement and task accomplishment than are girls, who are more oriented to affiliation tasks (Crandall, 1963). When achievement is being stressed, boys tend to be task involved; on the other hand, females are less task oriented and more concerned with the resulting social approval (e.g. Crandall & Rabson, 1960; Maccoby, 1966).

Moreover in our society, girls attain status which is derived and which is dependent upon their husband's station in life (Bakan, 1966;

Garai & Schienfeld, 1968; Turner, 1962). It may be that largely for this reason, because their status is more attributed than earned, that girls and women tend to be more conscious and jealous of status distinctions than are boys or men (Garai & Schienfeld, 1968). These differences exist even at the elementary school level. Stendler (1949) reports that girls become aware earlier than boys about the symbolic significance of material goods as indicators of status and prestige.

In summary, this evidence indicates the probability that boys will value the acquisition of material goods for their own sake more than will girls; girls earlier than boys will value the acquisition of material goods as instrumental means for gaining social approval.

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses stated below have been formulated in accordance with the conceptualization that material goods are valued because they are perceived as instrumental means for the attainment of other values or goals. Predictions are based on research evidence which suggests that the relative strength of the goals which material goods are used to attain shift as the child develops. These values will be depicted as V_1, V_2 and V_3. V_1 indicates goals which are intrinsic to the nature or purpose of the good itself such as fun, pleasure or comfort. V_2 indicates goals which involve interpersonal contact and the desire for peer acceptance which results either from acquiring objects which others own or from obtaining goods which others admire and wish to share. V_3 indicates goals which involve the attainment of prestige which results from the fact of possession of goods which are symbolic of social status or of a social image.

A. Hypotheses dealing with the relationship of age and materialistic values are:

1. The relative strength of the value of acquisition of material goods as things to be enjoyed for themselves (V_1) as compared with the value of direct attainment of social goals (V_2, V_3) without reference to material goods will decrease with age.

   More specifically it is predicted that:

   a) When given a choice between the acquisition of a material good or the attainment of a social value, 8 and 11 year olds will prefer the latter option more than will 5 year olds.

2. Older children more than younger children will value material goods as instrumental for attaining social acceptance (V_2) or status (V_3).

More specifically it is predicted that when given a choice between various pairs of values (V_1 and V_2, V_2 and V_3 or V_1 and V_3) as reasons for desiring material goods:

a) Five year olds will choose V_1 more than will 8 and 11 year olds.

b) Eight year olds will choose V_2 more than will 5 and 11 year olds.

c) Eleven year olds will choose V_3 more than will 5 and 8 year olds.

3. Children's beliefs about the necessity of possession of material goods for attaining V_1, V_2 and V_3 will change with age.

a) Five year olds more than 8 and 11 year olds will believe that V_1 cannot be attained without material goods.

b) Eight and 11 year olds more than five year olds will believe that V_2 cannot be attained without material goods.

c) Eleven year olds more than 5 and 8 year olds will believe that V_3 cannot be attained without material goods.

4. Children's beliefs about the relation between the possession of material goods and the attainment of V_1, V_2 and V_3 will change with age.

More specifically, it is predicted that when given information that an individual possesses material goods:

a) Five year olds more than 8 and 11 year olds will associate

possession with the attainment of V_1.

b) Eight year olds more than 5 and 11 year olds will associate possession with the attainment of V_2.

c) Eleven year olds more than 5 and 8 year olds will associate possession with the attainment of V_3.

B. With regard to the hypothesis advanced above (A) it is predicted that the relationship between sex differences and materialistic values will take the following form:

1. The relative strength of the value of acquisition of material goods as things to be enjoyed for themselves (V_1) as compared with the value of direct attainment of social goals (V_2, V_3) without reference to material goods will be greater for boys than for girls.

More specifically it is predicted that:

a) When given a choice between the acquisition of a material good or the direct attainment of a social value, boys more than girls will prefer the former option.

b) These differences will be greater for older than for younger children.

2. Boys more than girls will value material goods as instrumental for attaining V_1. Girls more than boys will value material goods as instrumental for attaining V_2.

More specifically, it is predicted that when given a choice between various pairs of values (V_1 or V_2, V_2 or V_3, V_1 or V_3) as reasons for desiring material goods:

a) Boys more than girls will choose V_1.

b) Girls more than boys will choose V_2.

c) The differences will be greater at younger than at older ages.

3. Girls more than boys will believe that material goods are necessary for attaining V_2 and V_3.

More specifically, it is predicted that:

a) Girls more than boys will believe that V_2 cannot be attained without material goods.

b) Girls more than boys will believe that V_3 cannot be attained without material goods.

C. With regard to the hypothesis advanced above (A) it is predicted that the relationship between socioeconomic status and materialistic values will take the following form:

1. The relative strength of the value of acquisition of material goods as things to be enjoyed for themselves (V_1) as compared with the value of direct attainment of social goals (V_2, V_3) without reference to material goods will be greater for children of low socioeconomic status than for children of middle socioeconomic status.

More specifically it is predicted that:

a) When given a choice between the acquisition of a material good or the direct attainment of a social value, children of low socioeconomic status will prefer the former option more than children from middle socioeconomic status.

b) The differences will be greater for older than for younger children.

2. Lower class children more than middle class children will value material goods as instrumental for attaining V_1.

More specifically, it is predicted that when given a choice between various pairs of values (V_1 or V_2, V_2 or V_3, V_1 or V_3) as reasons for desiring material goods:

a) Lower class more than middle class children will choose V_1.

PROCEDURE

There are two major aspects to this investigation. The first will be the development and validation of an instrument with which to assess materialistic values in children. The second will be the use of this instrument to collect data in order to test the hypotheses advanced for this study. These two portions will be described below.

A. Instrument Development

Since at the present time there are no measures available which can be used to study materialistic values in children, a principal portion of this study will involve the development of an instrument which can be used to test the hypotheses. As previously explained, materialistic values are defined as instrumental values; material goods are valued because it is believed that their possession will lead to the attainment of valued ends or goals. Material goods are defined as classes of objects which can be purchased with money.

Several ideas for designing the instrument will be described in this section. The following section will present an account of the procedure for item development, refinement and validation.

At this time, it is anticipated that the final form of the measure will consist of four scales, approximately ten questions each, which will be individually administered to children. Each scale will be designed to test one of the major hypotheses. The scales will be designed to assess (1) the relative strength of the value of acquisition of material goods as compared with the attainment of social values; (2) the relative importance of three

factors as a bases for valuing material goods. These factors are values or goals which material goods may be instrumental in attaining; (3) beliefs about the necessity of material goods for attaining these goals; (4) beliefs about the relationship between possession of material goods and the attainment of these goals.

Each of the scales will be described separately. For each, item generating rules have been proposed and prototype items based on these rules are presented. In addition, several alternative options for writing questions are described for some of the scales. If, during preliminary pilot work, several options prove useful and appear to be providing different types of information, they will be retained. However, if this is not the case, the better principle for generating items will be used for the final measure.

It should be noted that where appropriate, the items will be accompanied by pictures illustrating the situations described. The pictures will be used both to heighten interest and to decrease reliance on verbalization and abstract memory by providing a reference point for the child. At present, it is anticipated that this purpose will be served by using simple stick figure illustrations. Simple illustrations have advantages both in terms of decreasing the amount of art work which would be involved in developing more complex pictures and of minimizing potential distractors which may influence the child's responses.

Rules for generating items

A description of each scale, including its purpose, rules for generating items and options for developing different types of items follows.

Scale I

The purpose of this scale is to assess the relative strength of the value of material goods as ends in themselves as compared with the attainment of social goals, without material goods. The child will be asked to state his preference on items generated according to the following rule:

P (1) has X
P (2) has Y
Who would you like to be?

P (1) and P (2) represent two different children. X represents a material good. "X" will be depicted in general terms such as "a present," "getting something new," "buying something in the store." These general terms will be used in order to control for the effect of previous experience, ownership, or preferences children may have with regard to specific goods. However, in pretesting children will be asked what they associate with terms like "a present" in order to determine whether these terms mean the same thing to children at different age levels. Specific classes of items might be included such as clothing, games, toys, sports equipment if this proves feasible during pretesting. "Y" represents different aspects of social values which will be referred to in terms of behaviors or states such as "having friends," "going to

a party." These goals have been found to be highly regarded by children in studies of the development of social values (e.g. Ausubel and Sullivan, 1970; Guilford, Gupta & Goldberg, 1972).

An example of an item is as follows:

This child is getting a present
This child is going to a party
Who would you like to be?

The precise form of the question will be determined during pilot work. An alternative form of the query might be, "Which do you like best?"

Scale II

The purpose of this scale is to assess the relative strength of three values which material goods are instrumental for attaining. These ends or goals have been described previously. Several options are proposed for developing items for this scale.

Option 1. Rules for generating items:

P gets X
Why is he happy; because of V_1 or V_2?

P gets X
Why is he happy, because of V_2 or V_3?

P gets X
Why is he happy, because of V_1 or V_3?

P represents a person. X represents different material goods and will be depicted in terms of general classes or specific types of objects (e.g. clothes, electric trains). V_1 represents goals which are intrinsic to the primary purpose of the good (fun, pleasure, enjoyment). V_2 represents goals which are social in nature and involve group activity and group acceptance (to play with the kids, to be part of the crowd). V_3 represents goals of social recognition such as status, prestige or social image which result from possession of goods which are symbolic indicators (to be important, to be a "big shot", to be "with it").

Examples of items are as follows:

This boy got a new bike. Is he thinking
(1) This sure will be fun to ride! or
(2) Now I can play with the other kids who have bikes?

This boy got a set of electric trains. Is he thinking
(1) Now all my friends will want to come play with me; or
(2) Now all the kids will think I'm a "big shot"

This man got a new car that cost a lot of money.
Is he thinking
(1) This is certainly a comfortable car; or
(2) Now people will think I'm important.

Option II. The child will be asked to rate the importance of the values for which material goods are desired. Rules for generating items are as follows:

P got X
How much did he want X because of V_1? V_2? V_3?

For example:

This boy got a new bike. How much did he want the bike because
(1) He could have fun going places on it?
(2) He could play with the other kids who had bikes?
(3) The bike was real fancy and the kids thought he was really lucky to have it.

The child would be asked to rate "how much" for each of these alternatives by marking an X in one of three boxes differing in size from small to large. In addition, the child will be asked to provide reasons for his ratings. The reasons will be objectively scored.

Scale III

The purpose of this scale is to assess how essential the child believes material goods are for attaining certain valued goals (V_1, V_2, V_3). Several options for items or this scale are described below.

Option I. The child will be asked to indicate agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

Can you have V_1 without X?

Can you have V_2 without X?

Can you have V_3 without X?

V_1 represents goals or values such as happiness, having fun, doing interesting things. V_2 represents social values such as having friends, going to lots of parties, having people like you. V_3 represents status or prestige such as to be admired, to be important, to be a "big shot". X represents material goods depicted in terms of amounts, classes or specific items such as lots of things, toys, a car.

For example, the child will be asked:

Can you have fun without lots of toys?

Can you be happy if you don't have nice clothes?

Will people like you if you don't have the same kind of games they do?

Can you have lots of friends if you don't have things the kids like to play with?

Can you be an important person if you don't have a big house?

Can you be a big shot if you don't have an expensive car?

After indicating "yes" or "no" to each of these questions, the child will be asked the reasons for his answer. These open-ended responses will be explored during pilot work and, if possible, they will be revised to constitute an alternative to replace the "yes-no" options. If, however, open-ended responses appear to be the best plan for obtaining information, this approach will be adopted along with an objective scoring system.

Option II. The child will be asked to indicate the extent to which he thinks material goods are necessary to attain V_1, V_2, V_3 by marking boxes of different sizes. Items will be written according to the following rule:

How much do you need X to have V_1?

How much do you need X to have V_2?

How much do you need X to have V_3?

For example:

How many toys do you need to have good times?

How much do you have to have the same games the other kids have if you want to play with them?

How much do you need to have a big car to be an important person?

Option III. The child will be asked to indicate which of several alternatives is most important for attaining V_1, V_2 or V_3.

P has V_1 (or V_2, or V_3)

P has X and Y.

Which helped him most to get V_1 (or V_2 or V_3)?

X represents a material good depicted as either a class, amount or type of object. Y is a behavior or state shich is a skill, attribute or behavior which can be achieved independently of possession of

material goods. An example of an item would be as follows:

This child has good times.

He has lots of games.

He tells funny jokes.

Which helped him most to have good times?

This child has lots of friends.

He helps the children with their school work.

He has toys all the kids like to play with.

Which helped him most to get lots of friends?

Everyone thinks this man is very important.

He has a big house.

He is smart.

Which one makes people think he is important?

The response alternatives provided for these items will be investigated during preliminary tryouts to determine whether children believe they are equally plausible ways of attaining these goals. In addition, children's own ideas about how to reach V_1, V_2 and V_3 will be explored and incorporated in the items.

Option IV. Another method with which to assess the child's beliefs about the relative importance of material goods as compared with other more intrinsic behaviors or personal qualities for achieving V_1, V_2 or V_3 is by adapting a technique employed by Rosenberg (1956). In his study adults rated a list of objects, situations and behaviors on a scale of -10 to +10 in terms of their perceived instrumentality for attaining or blocking the

individuals previously stated values. For this adaptation three alternative means for attaining a goal would be provided. The goal would be an example of V_1, V_2, or V_3 such as having fun, having friends, being important. The child would be given three markers, boxes differing in size from small to large and asked to place one marker on each of three illustrations of the alternative ways of reaching the goal. A training procedure would be instituted to show the child that placing a small marker on one picture indicates that it is not as important for reaching the goal as placing a large marker on that same picture.

Rules for generating items are as follows:

P has or wants V_1 (V_2 or V_3).

P gets X.

P does Y.

P does Z.

Which will help him most to get V_1 (V_2 or V_3)?

P represents a person. X is a material good. Y and Z are behaviors or individual attributes which do not involve material goods.

For example:

This man is very important. Why do you think he is important?

1) How much is it because he works hard?

2) How much is it because he has lots of expensive things?

3) How much is it because he helps people?

The child would be told, "Now you put the biggest box on the picture that shows what you think made the man important. Now put the little box on the picture that shows what helped only a little." During

the preliminary tryouts, children will be asked what they think are means for attaining V_1, V_2, V_3. These responses will be incorporated as alternative choices (Y, Z) for these questions.

Scale IV

The purpose of this scale is to assess whether the child believes the possession of material goods are correlated with V_1, V_2 or V_3. Several alternative options for generating items for this scale will be described.

Option I. The child will be asked to indicate agreement or disagreement with the following types of statements.

P has X, does he have V_1?

P has X, does he have V_2?

P has X, does he have V_3?

The notations V_1, V_2 and V_3 have been explained previously.

Examples of these questions would be:

This child has lots of toys. Does he have fun?

This child has lots of toys. Does he have lots of friends?

This child has lots of toys. Do the kids think he is important?

After indicating "yes-no" to each of these questions, the child will be asked the reasons for his answers. These open-ended responses, as indicated previously, will be explored during pilot work and, if possible, they will be revised to constitute alternatives to replace the "yes-no options." If open-ended responses appear to be the best plan for obtaining information, this approach will be adopted and an objective scoring system will be devised.

Option II. To assess the extent to which material goods are associated with V_1, V_2 and V_3 the child will be asked to rate items generated according to the following rule:

P doesn't have V_1 (V_2, V_3).

P gets X.

Did P get V_1, (V_2, V_3)?

How much?

The child will be asked to place a mark in either a small, medium or large box. For example:

> This child doesn't have interesting times. He got a new game. How many interesting times do you think he has now?
>
> This child doesn't have many friends to play with.
>
> He got a game that all the kids liked and wished they had. How many friends do you think he has to play with now?

Option III. Another technique for assessing the child's beliefs with regard to the relationship between material goods and V_1, V_2 and V_3 is to give the child information about two individuals in terms of the fact that they possess different types or amounts of material goods. He will be asked to infer the extent to which these individuals have attained V_1, V_2 and V_3 soley on the basis of information about material possessions. The paradigm is an adaptation of the technique used by Asch (1955) in studies with adults of impression formation and similar to the methods used by Stewart (1958) and Stendler (1949) for studying children's social perceptions.

Rules for generating items are as follows:

P(1) has X (1)

P(2) has X (2)

Who has V_1 (V_2, V_3?)

P (1) and (2) are two different persons. X (1) and X (2) are different amounts or types of material goods (lots of toys, not many toys; a big fancy car, a small car).

An example of an item based on this paradigm is as follows:

This child has lots of toys.

This child has only a few toys.

Who do you think has more friends?

Why?

This option will call for open-ended responses, which if possible will be incorporated into objective alternatives. If this is not possible, an objective scoring system will be devised based on a content analysis.

Item Development, Refinement and Validation.

The steps outline below will be followed in order to develop, refine and validate the instrument described above.

1. For each of the scales items will be developed based on the principles and options delineated.
2. Intensive individual interviews will be conducted with 30 children representative of those to be sampled in the final study. These interviews will be conducted in an effort to determine children's reasons for their responses to questions in order to refine items, write new items, and to decide the best rule generating options for questions for each of the scales.

The interviews will be conducted with regard to the following considerations:

a) Comprehensibility: The ability of children of different ages to understand the questions will be determined by asking the child what key words in the question mean and by asking them to give reasons for their answers.

b) Appropriateness of the wordings of the items: In order to determine whether items are worded appropriately with regard to general references to material goods, (e.g. "a present") children will be asked what they associate with these terms. If children's answers to these questions are based on the fact that their association to these words are quite different, the general references to material goods will be made less ambiguous. In addition, the words used in the prototype items, such as those to depict status, like

"important", a "big-shot" will be changed if children indicate that the words they use when referring to these states are different.

c) Appropriateness of response options for each item: Children's reasons for their answers will be used to determine whether choices in paired comparison situations are appropriate in terms of being equally attractive.

Face Validity

In order to estimate the face validity of the questions, several judges, knowledgable about children (e.g. a professor of child development, a teacher, a psychometrician) will be asked to rate the individual items on each scale as poor, fair or good with regard to each of the following considerations:

a) Appropriateness of the item: Is the item written according to the principles set forth for generating questions on each scale?

b) The appropriateness of the items for children: Does the item depict a situation that is meaningful or within the realm of experience of elementary school children and which will be equally meaningful for children of different age, sex and ses background?

c) Comprehensibility of the items: Is the item written at a level of complexity which is within the comprehension of a five year old?

Judges will be asked to note criticisms of individual items and to suggest revisions. An average rating will be computed based on the considerations listed above. Items which are rated

"good" by all three judges will be retained. In addition, the judges will be asked to rate the total set of items on each scale with regard to the adequacy of the pool for sampl' g various aspects of the construct under investigation.

4. Formal Pretesting

After items have been improved with regard to the considerations outlined above, an experimental form of the instrument will be administered to a sample of 60 children representative of the population to be used in the final phase of the study. In order to further refine the measures, the following analyses will be computed:

a) Distribution of responses for each item for the total sample of children will be analyzed. Items for which more than 80% of the children give the same response will be eliminated in order to increase the variance of responses and to increase item correlation.

b) Factor analysis. In order to increase the homogeneity of the items in terms of identifying items which are closely related, a factor analysis for each scale will be computed. Observation of the fact' structure within each scale will allow identification of clusters of items which are largely measuring the same thing. Items with a high loading on factors will be scrutinized to judge whether they reflect the construct they are designed to measure. Items which do not load high will also be scrutinized in order to examine problems in wording or to determine what else they are measuring.

After completion of the procedure outlined above, the final form of the standard instrument will be shown to the members of the committee for their comments and suggestions. After these have been incorporated into the instrument and the approval of the committee members is obtained, a standard instrument will be administered in order to test the hypotheses advanced for this study.

B. Data Collection

Subjects. A total of 120 boys and girls, aged 5, 8 and 11 will be given the instrument. Half of the subjects will be from middle class and half from lower class socioeconomic backgrounds. Socio-economic status will be determined on the basis of the type of neighborhood in which the child lives and the type of school he attends. If information about father's occupation is available, the Stern SES rating scale (1966) developed at the UCLA Early Childhood Research Center will be used.

At this time, it is anticipated that only white children will be used in the sample. However, if this stipulation proves difficult to meet, then it is possible that the sample will include black children. It is recognized that this will present theoretical problems in terms of separating out the variables of race and socio-economic class in the interpretation of the results. However, in reality, race and socioeconomic class are confounded in our society. Therefore, the data will still provide an adequate picture of the development of materialistic values in these different groups.

Administration of the Instrument. Subjects will be randomly selected from kindergarten, third and sixth grade classes. The instrument will be individually administered. Although at this time it is not possible to predict the exact time needed for testing, it is anticipated that it will be approximately 20-30 minutes.

Analysis of the Data. Several options are available for analyzing the data and will be adopted depending on the finalized version of the measuring instrument.

(1) In order to determine the reliability of the instrument a split half technique will be used.

(2) A 3 x 2 x 2 analysis of variance, complete factorial design (3 levels of age, 2 levels of sex, 2 levels of socioeconomic status) will be carried out for scores on each of the scales in order to test the hypotheses with regard to age, sex, and socioeconomic status differences.

(3) If they are available, measures of mental ability will be used as a covariate to control for the effect of this variable on obtained differences.

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